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Rearticulating Historic Fort Snelling:
Dakota Memory and Colonial Haunting in the American Midwest

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Rearticulating Historic Fort Snelling:

Dakota Memory and Colonial Haunting in the American Midwest

by

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Abstract

Rearticulating Historic Fort Snelling: Dakota Memory and Colonial Haunting in the American Midwest

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2012

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Built in 1819 by the U.S. government, Fort Snelling sits at the confluence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers. This place is called a "bdote" by the Dakota people. Oral traditions describe bdote as the site of Dakota creation. Treaties in the nineteenth century allowed the U.S. government to dispossess the Dakota of this land. Fort Snelling is connected to many important points in U.S. history. It operated as a military post until the mid-twentieth century, and was a training or processing site for U.S. servicepersons who fought in the Civil War, U.S. Indian removal campaigns, and World War Two, among others. Dred Scott lived as a slave at Fort Snelling. Following the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862, about 1,600 Dakota people were forcibly concentrated below Fort Snelling, where nearly 300 died. Shortly after, the U.S. government banished the Dakota from Minnesota.

Today, Fort Snelling exists as "Historic Fort Snelling." Run by the Minnesota Historical Society (MHS), the site offers a living history program which interprets Fort Snelling "as it was" in the 1820s—before much of these events of import occurred. This

portrayal is geared toward schoolchildren and white Minnesotans, and focuses on the premise of peaceful U.S. settlement in the American West.

This study describes Fort Snelling's history, and address peoples'—both Dakota and other Minnesotans'—objections to the circumscribed interpretation of history at Historic Fort Snelling. By better revealing the memory alive at this site, most specifically the popularly ignored Dakota memories of Fort Snelling and bdote, this study hopes to convey what scholar Avery F. Gordon would term the "hauntings" present but unacknowledged at Historic Fort Snelling.

This study concludes that in order to express the density of memory at Fort Snelling, MHS and Historic Fort Snelling must acknowledge that the Dakota people and their stories are crucial to its history. Further, these institutions must recognize that oppressive structures like U.S. colonialism allowed for Fort Snelling's creation and operation. These structures and the hauntings they produce are still alive on this land, and onsite historical interpretation at Historic Fort Snelling must transform to reflect these living memories.

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[Place is more than] just the site of an event… [it is] the materialization of a history which is often quite extensively retracted.
-Raymond Williams[1]

In 1835, George Catlin visited Fort Snelling, a military base perched at the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers. During his visit the famous painter of North American Indians wrote in his journal, "This place is great, (not in history, for there is none of it, but) in traditions and stories of which this Western world is full and rich."[2] Even today, the American Midwest is perceived as lacking history. While the East possesses Ellis Island and Civil War battlefields, the South Creole New Orleans and Great House plantations, the West the Grand Canyon and visible references to the California Gold Rush, in popular conception the Midwest possesses fields—acre upon acre of rolling plains.

This perceived historical scarcity is also attributed to much of Midwestern culture. The region exists in many minds as it does in the Coen Brother's 1996 film *Fargo*: a wide, white, flat, and unchanging place. The very spaciousness of the Great Plains arguably allows for this feeling of historic void or blank slate. Yi-Fu Tuan describes how places that span long distances without obstruction can take on a timeless sensibility. He explains:

> As the objective horizontal plane stretches away from the observer to the remote distance, a point is reached at which details cease to be knowable. This is the borderland between the objective and the subjective realms; it is the timeless past, a country told about in myths.[3]

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[1] Raymond Williams, *Politics and Letters* (London: New Left Books, 1979), 276.
[2] George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians* Vol. 2, (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1841), 163.
[3] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 121.

Tuan thus theorizes Catlin's claims, and describes how myths, legends, and stories—as opposed to histories—may easily grow in expansive, stretching places like the American Midwest.

Of course, in Catlin's time the region known as the American Midwest did not yet exist. The land where U.S. forces constructed Fort Snelling was part of the Northwest Territory until 1803, and Minnesota, where the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers converge, would not be declared a U.S. state until 1858. Indeed, Fort Snelling existed for some time on land that was conceived of as the beginning of the West. It was a place unknown and separate from the historically-grounded family, business, and civic practices of the American East. In the mid-nineteenth century, this conception helped Fort Snelling become one of the first major U.S. tourist destinations west of the Mississippi. During this time, persons like Mrs. Alexander Hamilton and George Catlin journeyed to the fort on a "fashionable tour," a popular travel excursion to American sites of natural majesty like Niagara Falls, the Great Lakes, and the northern lands surrounding the Mississippi River.[4] Speaking again of Fort Snelling, Catlin claimed the site "was worth a trip on a river steamboat to see it."[5]

Dydia DeLyser describes the power that the literal, physical sight of the American landscape yielded during this time period. She claims,

> Without the cultural and historical legacies of European destinations, American tourist attractions developed along lines that made them distinctly American, reinforcing notions of a distinctly American identity, and through tourist experience, locating that identity in the landscape. Such sublime scenery suggested a divine accomplishment that surpassed even the castles, cathedrals, great art, and scenery of Europe.[6]

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[4] John F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).

[5] Marilynn Larew, "National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form," March 15, 1978, accessed February 29, 2012, http://www.pdfhost.gov/docs/NHLS/Text/66000401.pdf.

[6] Dydia DeLyser, *Ramona Memories* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 32.

DeLyser thus gives insight to how notions of American character became heavily tied to place, suggesting that the sheer awe inspired by the U.S. (or soon-to-be U.S.) landscape could lead to popular myths about national identity. Bill Ashcroft takes this argument further, asserting that "it is in the landscape that we find the most striking visual metaphor for a sense of cultural uniqueness," and maintains, "the settler society constructs [this uniqueness] as a sign of its distinctiveness from imperial culture."[7] Catlin's conception of Fort Snelling and the land on which it perches fits into this paradigm. To Euro-Americans like Catlin, this place was a break-away, a refutation of European cities and western imperial culture. However, importantly, the very construction of Fort Snelling, along with white settlement in the area, demanded the re-inscription of an imperial culture—although granted, a newer, U.S. imperial culture, on the landscape [See Figure 1].[8]

The construction of Fort Snelling allowed the U.S. government and later its settler culture to claim sovereignty over Indigenous Nations. Fort Snelling's stone fortress thus evidences the colonial writing of physical space. Its tower's powerful location at the junction of two major rivers declares the belonging of a space to one nation—the U.S.—over others: namely, the Dakota Nation. This re-inscription of colonial ideologies and practices helped to cultivate the impression that the American West lacked civilization and history, that it was a land unoccupied and memory-less. Fort Snelling demonstrates how popular U.S. conceptions of the American West were and can be pushed to a mythological realm, ungrounded in history and known only, as Catlin insists, "in stories."

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[7] Bill Ashcroft, *Post-Colonial Transformation* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 139.

[8] French subjects and voyageurs, and later British subjects, had been establishing trade networks and living in this area prior to U.S. occupation. This means that imperial culture had been inscribed on this land a long time—even centuries—before the official formation of the U.S. and before the U.S. government deployed officials to the region. Gary Clayton Anderson, *Kinsmen of Another Kind: Dakota-White Relations in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1650-186*2 (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1997).

In this study, I wish to articulate controversies about the historical interpretation of Fort Snelling. The site exists today as Historic Fort Snelling,[9] a living history museum operated by the Minnesota Historical Society (MHS). A large part of this study is devoted to the memory this land possesses for the Dakota people, who are indigenous to Minnesota and to the land where Fort Snelling stands.[10] Nevertheless, this exploration is by no means a sufficient history of the Dakota. Furthermore, this study will not provide a sufficient history of white settlement in Minnesota, the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862, or even of Fort Snelling itself. Instead, this study examines the debates over this site and tries to illuminate the discrepancy between the memories alive on this land and the historical interpretation offered at Historic Fort Snelling. These arguments over interpretation are happening right now, in our current time.

Crucial to this study is the fact that although new offerings and marketing materials about the site have brought greater depth to its interpretation, the daily

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[9] The living history site is formally titled "Historic Fort Snelling." Historic Fort Snelling does not encompass all of the Fort Snelling site. The remainder of the site is now a Mississippi National River and Recreation area and a part of the National Park Service.

[10] In this study, I use the term "Dakota" to refer to Dakota people and the Dakota Nation. The Dakota are part of the Seven Council Fires and are composed of the Mdewakanton (Bdewakantunwan), Wahpeton (Wahpetunwan), Wahpekute, Sisseton (Sisitunwan), Yankton, Yanktonai, and Lakota bands. The Dakota have been referred to for centuries as the "Sioux." While the origin of "Sioux" has never been definitively verified, it is believed to come from an Indigenous-derived, proto-Algonquin word meaning "to speak a foreign language." "Sioux," *Random House Dictionary*, accessed April 4, 2012, http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/sioux. Alternatively, some believe the term is derived from the Ojibwe/Anishanaabe word that means "rattlesnake," reflecting the enmity sometimes existent in past generations between the Dakota and the Ojibwe/Anishanaabe. "Sioux" was probably first employed by French Canadian Voyageurs and fur traders in the eighteenth century to refer to any and all bands of Dakota, and soon became the standard term used by British and later by U.S. traders and officials to refer to the Dakota people. Although some Dakota persons identify with or by "Sioux," most of the persons I have talked to or who identify themselves as a member of one of the eastern bands refer to themselves and their heritage as "Dakota." Also in this study, I refer to the War between the United States government and the Dakota people that took place in the summer and fall of 1862 as "the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862." This is a recent popular shift in terminology for MHS. Until as recently as the 2000s, the War was often referred to as an "uprising," as a "conflict," or as "the Sioux Uprising." Many monuments standing today in Minnesota that commemorate the War refer to it as "the Sioux Uprising." Julie A. Anderson, *Reconciling Memory: Landscapes, Commemorations, and Enduring Conflicts of the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862* (PhD diss., Georgia State University, 2011).

operation of Historic Fort Snelling has remained more or less the same for decades. This contestation over why and how MHS continues to tell a very specific story of early U.S. life in the West demonstrates a public struggle over what this place means and what its history should say. I will incorporate the voices, opinions, and memories of persons who have a stake in this land and its representation, including Dakota activists involved in "Take Down the Fort," an anti-colonial, Indigenous repatriation campaign; Dakota elders who have recently participated in the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 Oral History Project; and MHS staff and volunteers. Also included in this study are historical documents, recent newspaper opinion editorials, and scholarly work. These sources help to tease out and piece together what persons believe Fort Snelling is and should be, and how it should explain its history.

In *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, Avery F. Gordon speaks of what she terms "hauntings" that permeate contemporary society.[11] These hauntings are typically grounded in historical traumas or social violence inflicted on non-white or poor bodies. They are usually imposed by a dominating structure or class, operating within a capitalist sphere. In *Ghostly Matters,* Gordon insists that historical traumas and their haunting are alive today and causing real effects. She explains that in our current culture there exists a discrepancy between the depth of knowledge about the past and the depth of "seeing" the past in everyday life and discourse. To address this inconsistency, she insists that the works of novelists like Toni Morrison offer a method to seeing that "what is usually invisible or neglected or thought by most to be dead and gone…" is still living, "seething and lingering." Gordon insists these texts can help make

[11] Avery F. Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 193.

evident that "what seems over and done with," is not. Instead, we are left with haunting, with "the endings that are not over."[12]

By heeding Gordon's insistence on the acknowledgment of and necessary contact with what is alive but ignored in contemporary society, this study asks questions which might be difficult to answer. What histories are MHS telling at Historic Fort Snelling, and how? Can multiple histories be told here? Do some histories, especially ones of imperialism, colonialism, and deep spirituality, deserve privilege over others—do they carry a weight that demands a central position in a telling of history? Is Historic Fort Snelling simply a place where "white people can fulfill white fantasies"?[13] What can or should be done at Historic Fort Snelling to better fulfill MHS's mission, to "illuminate the past to shed light on the future"?[14] Perhaps most importantly, what memories live here?

[12] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 194-5.
[13] Waziyatawin, *What Does Justice Look Like?: The Struggle for Liberation in Dakota Homeland* (St. Paul, MN: Living Justice Press, 2008), 106.
[14] "About MHS," Minnesota Historical Society, accessed March 28, 2012, http://www.mnhs.org/about/.

Chapter I: A History of Fort Snelling

In order to reveal the kind of memory and haunting present at Fort Snelling, I must offer a brief history of the land it is built on, and events that occurred at, surrounding, or because of it. Fort Snelling sits today, as it has since its initial construction in 1819, at the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers. The Dakota people call sites like this where two rivers converge "bdote." Many bands of the Dakota, namely the Mdewakantonwan (Bdewakantunwan), believe that they "started"[15] here, at this bdote. Their creation stories, passed down through oral tradition, call this bdote "Maka Cokaya Kin," or "Center of the Earth," where the Dakota were originally created by "Ina Maka," or Mother Earth. Oral traditions point to this bdote space as a site of creation, fertility, abundance, and home.[16] Dave Larsen, a Dakota educator and elder, explains, "for our people this was the center of everything… this was the center of our world."[17] Further demonstrating the Dakota's relationship with and imprint on this land, the word Minnesota is derived from the Dakota word "Mnisota," meaning "land of sky-tinted water," or "water that reflects the sky."[18]

Western records of the Dakota begin only in the late seventeenth century, with the emergence of French fur posts on the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River.[19] In 1803 the Louisiana Purchase enabled the U.S. to acquire 828,800 square miles of land west of the Mississippi and ensured eventual U.S. control of the Mississippi River trade.

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[15] "Bdote Memory Map," Minnesota Humanities Center, accessed March 12, 2012, http://www.bdotememorymap.org.

[16] Autumn Cavender-Wilson, "Mnisota Makoce: A Dakota Place," videos, Minnesota Humanities Center, accessed March 12, 2012, http://www.bdotememorymap.org/Mnistoa; Waziyatawin, *Justice,* 17-21.

[17] Dave Larsen, "Mnisota Makoce: A Dakota Place," videos, Minnesota Humanities Center, accessed March 12, 2012, www.bdotememorymap.org/Mnistoa.

[18] Greg Breining, "A Sense of Place: The Legacy of Names," Minnesota Department of Natural Resources, accessed April 22, 2012, http://www.dnr.state.mn.us/volunteer/janfeb01/legacyofnames_sop.html.

[19] Carolyn Gilman, *Where Two Worlds Meet: The Great Lakes Fur Trade* (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1982).

However, the Purchase did not automatically guarantee U.S. dominance on the River. As a young country, the U.S. needed to assert this new possession to American Indians, namely the Dakota and Ojibwe/Anishanaabe,[20] as well as to still-present French and English traders. To be sure, the U.S. was well aware of trading relationships existent at this site between Indigenous peoples and European purveyors. In January of 1803 President Thomas Jefferson declared in a special message to Congress,

> It is… understood that the country on that river is inhabited by numerous tribes, who furnish great supplies of furs and peltry to the trade of another nation, carried on in a high latitude, through an infinite number of portages and lakes.[21]

In simple words, Jefferson and U.S. officials understood that the land where Fort Snelling would soon sit was already inhabited and utilized by other nations, specifically Indigenous Nations; Jefferson's writings clearly demonstrate knowledge that this territory was occupied.

In 1805 Lieutenant Zebulon Pike reached the point where the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers meet. He had been commissioned by the U.S. government to negotiate a treaty with the Dakota that would ensure U.S. regional sovereignty. Shortly after his arrival, Pike drafted what is referred to as Pike's Purchase, a treaty which stipulated that the Dakota cede their land around the Minnesota and St. Croix Rivers, both major trading

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[20] In this study, I use the terms "Ojibwe" or "Anishanaabe" to refer to the Indigenous nation of peoples who lived for much time near, among, or at odds with the Dakota nation in Minnesota. "Anishanaabe" is the term used to describe or an autonym for the language that the Ojibwe people speak. Many of these peoples prefer to refer to themselves as "Anishanaabe," which translates in English as "true" or "original people." The word "Chippewa" exists much as "Sioux" does: both words were employed by other Indigenous nations or by Europeans and Euro-Americans to refer to Indigenous Nations and peoples. Anishanaabe-speaking people do not commonly use "Chippewa" as a self-identifier. William Warren, ed. Theresa Schenck, *History of the Ojibway People* (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2009).

[21] Thomas Jefferson, "Special Message to Congress on Indian Policy, January 18, 1803," United States Congress. 1803. Quoted in Marcus Lee Hansen, *Old Fort Snelling: 1819-1858* (Iowa City, IA: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1918), 4.

waterways, "for the purpose of the establishment of military posts."[22] He was only able to secure two signatures from Dakota representatives of the Seven Council Fires, meaning that most of the Dakota bands and corresponding communities had no say in the treaty. Pike's Purchase, or "The Treaty with the Sioux, 1805," states, "the Sioux nation grants to the United States the full sovereignty and power over said district forever."[23] The construction of Fort Snelling on this ceded land began in August of 1819, and was completed in 1823.[24]

An early visitor to Fort Snelling asserted of its location, "a situation more commanding… could hardly be imagined."[25] Although the fort's location allowed for breathtaking views of the Mississippi River Valley, the utilitarian purpose of the fort's position was hard to deny. Historian Evan Jones notes,

> This view was more than a picture postcard. [Colonel Snelling, the fort's commanding officer] could mount guns pointing north and south on this bluff to cover the upper Mississippi, the highway patrolled by the Chippewas [Ojibwe or Anishanaabe]. South and west, he could command the St. Peter [the Minnesota River] and the movements of the Sioux [the Dakota].[26]

By placing Fort Snelling on this confluence of rivers, the U.S. military established a literal higher ground from which to overpower the Dakota and the Ojibwe/Anishanaabe. The site also helped ensure that U.S. forces would break down British and French trading relationships with these Indigenous Nations, leading to enormous American profit.

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[22] Charles J. Kappler, ed., "Treaty with the Sioux, 1805," *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol. II*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 316. See: "Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties," Oklahoma State University, accessed March 30, 2012, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol2/treaties/sio1031.htm.

[23] "Treaty with the Sioux, 1805," *Indian Affairs*, 1904; Gary Clayton Anderson, *Kinsmen of Another Kind*, 78-82.

[24] In 1824, the structure, first named Fort Saint Anthony, was renamed Fort Snelling after Colonel Josiah Snelling, the commander-in-charge. "Timeline," Historic Fort Snelling, Minnesota Historical Society, accessed March 30, 2012, http://www.historicfortsnelling.org/history/timeline.

[25] Evan Jones, *Citadel in the Wilderness* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1966), 52.

[26] Jones, *Citadel in the Wilderness*, 50.

Edward Soja's idea of space as a product, one composed of relations that give it a "form, a function, and a social signification" can help flesh out Jones' historical claims.[27] Fort Snelling's form and function gave the U.S. money and power; its social signification was the dominance of both land and people.[28]

In the decades after Fort Snelling's construction, the Dakota faced growing pressure and threats from the U.S. government and wealthy fur traders to cede more land, due mostly to growing settlement and economic interest in the area. Agreements like the Treaties of 1830, 1837, 1841, 1851, and 1858 negotiated the bestowal of much more Dakota land to the U.S. government. The two treaties of 1851, The Treaty of Traverse des Sioux [See Figure 2] and the Treaty of Mendota, ceded almost all remaining Dakota land to the U.S. government, minus a twenty-mile stretch that bordered the Minnesota River [See Figure 3]. The annuities arranged by these treaties were based only on interest, meaning the U.S. government would never pay the principal to the Dakota. The Treaty of Mendota stipulated that new Dakota reservations would be established along the Minnesota River, a promise never met. [29]

THE U.S.-DAKOTA WAR OF 1862 AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE DAKOTA

U.S. imperialist policies forced the Dakota from Minnesota and the land surrounding Fort Snelling. This force came in the form of treaties, but also more

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[27] Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (New York: Verso, 1989), 83.

[28] Nevertheless, it's also important to acknowledge that the Dakota and white settlers—be they French, British, or American—coexisted for some time, actively interacting with one another, sometimes on a daily basis. Although conceived of as worlds apart, these nations were trading, communicating (within certain parameters of domination and subordination), allying themselves to one another, procreating with one another, and living side by side decades, even centuries prior to these treaties. Philip J. Deloria*, Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2004), 20.

[29] Gary Clayton Anderson, *Kinsmen,* 177-202.

definitively through Dakota defeat in the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862. Today, historians attribute the War's causes to inequitable treaties that heavily favored the U.S. government over the Dakota, and that the U.S. government stopped providing or delayed annuities to the Dakota for ceded land. This caused widespread starvation and discontent among many Dakota bands.[30] An incident in early August of 1862, when a few Dakota men stole food from and murdered five white settlers in Southern Minnesota, prompted a non-unanimous declaration of war by the Dakota. A bloody six weeks of battle followed.[31] Beginning with an attack on the Lower Sioux Agency,[32] Dakota warriors raised arms against soldiers and white settlers. These attacks were soon countered by U.S. forces. More white deaths occurred during the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 than any other American Indian-U.S. war or conflict, with about 400 to 600 white soldiers and civilians killed. The number of Dakota deaths, surely similarly staggering, remains unknown. [33]

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[30] Here is another contested history which this study does not and cannot fully concentrate. Although many historians now believe that the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 was caused by Dakota frustration and anger over starvation, unfair treaties, denied annuities, and the trappings of dispossession, the causes of the War continue to be fiercely debated among Minnesotans, especially among descendants of those involved or killed during the War. For instance, some Minnesotans, typically white, promote a historical interpretation of the War stipulating that Dakota warriors raised arms against blameless farming families and soldiers. More believe that settlers who were killed during the War may not have understood U.S. policies or the fact that the land on which they settled was formerly occupied by Dakota people. Some of these historical interpretations do not connect the War to Dakota deprivation and domination. Many more do not connect the War to the U.S. government's imperial and colonial policies. How to approach these debates is a subject contested by the employees of MHS as well, as I learned while working there during the summer of 2011 and participating in strategic meetings about a 2012 U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 commemorative exhibit. See: Julie A. Anderson, *Reconciling Memory*.

[31] It is important to note that not all Dakota people participated in the War, and that a relatively small number of Dakota warriors, most who lived on the Lower Sioux reservation and who fought under the Dakota leader Little Crow, took up arms in the U.S. Dakota War of 1862. Many Dakota actually sided with U.S. forces during the war. Gary Clayton Anderson, *Kinsmen*, 261-4.

[32] The U.S. government established the Lower Sioux Agency in 1853 to help administrate the newly-formed Lower Sioux Indian Reservation. "Lower Sioux Agency," The Minnesota Historical Society, accessed March 30, 2012, http://www.mnhs.org/places/sites/lsa/; "Lower Sioux Indian Community," accessed March 30, 2012, http://www.lowersioux.com/about_us.html.

[33] "Brief History of the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862," The U.S.-Dakota War of 1862, Minnesota Historical Society, accessed March 28, 2012, http://www.usdakotawar.org; "Timeline," The U.S.-Dakota War of 1862, Minnesota Historical Society, accessed April 28, 2012, http://www.usdakotawar.org/timeline.

On September 9, 1862 Minnesota Governor Alexander Ramsey responded to what he and many then saw as the unprovoked and brutal killing of many white settlers at Dakota hands by declaring before the state legislature, "The Sioux Indians of Minnesota must be exterminated or driven forever beyond the borders of the state."[34] With Dakota defeat at the Battle at Wood Lake on September 23, 1862, which more or less ended the War, Ramsey's vocalizations proved ominous. Most remaining Dakota were officially banished from Minnesota,[35] but only after U.S. military officials force-marched about 1,600 Dakota women, children, and elderly men six days across the state and concentrated[36] them just below Fort Snelling [See Figure 4 and 5].

Due to lack of provisions, the harsh climate, disease, and a measles epidemic, about 300 of the Dakota people concentrated at Fort Snelling died during the winter.[37] These Dakota people also faced violent assaults by soldiers and civilians before and during their concentration.[38] That spring, U.S. officials forcibly relocated them to Crow Creek reservation in South Dakota. Three years later at Fort Snelling, on November 11,

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[34] Alexander Ramsey, "Message of Governor Ramsey to the Legislature of Minnesota, September 9, 1862," (St. Paul, MN: WM.R. Marshall, State Printer, 1862), 12.

[35] A small number of Dakota who allied with or aided white settlers and the U.S. military during the War were allowed to stay in Minnesota. Roy Willard Meyer, *History of the Santee Sioux: United States Indian Policy on Trial* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 140.

[36] In this study, I use the term "concentration" to refer to the confinement below Fort Snelling of Dakota women, children, and elders during the winter of 1862. In MHS and Historic Fort Snelling literature, the site is now called "an internment camp, sometimes called a concentration camp." There has been much debate institutionally about what the camp should be referred to as, and what the camp's function was, mainly whether the camp's purpose was to imprison the Dakota, to obliterate the Dakota, or, alternatively, to protect the Dakota from harm. For the purposes of this study, I use the word "concentration" as the *American Heritage Dictionary* defines it: "A camp where persons are confined, usually without hearings and typically under harsh conditions, often as a result of their membership in a group the government has identified as suspect." "Concentration Camp." *American Heritage Dictionary*, accessed April 12, 2012, http://www.ahdictionary.com/word/search.html?q=concentration+camp.

[37] An estimated 85 percent of the Dakota imprisoned at Fort Snelling developed measles. Records show evidence of a concurrent region-wide measles epidemic. Corinne L. Monjeau-Marz, *The Dakota Indian Internment at Fort Snelling, 1862-1864* (St. Paul, MN: Prairie Smoke Press, 2006), 54.

[38] Gary C. Anderson, ed., *Through Dakota Eyes: Narrative Accounts of the Minnesota Indian War of 1862* (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1988), 234; Monjeau-Marz, *Dakota Indian Internment at Fort Snelling*, 54.

1865, military officials hung recently-kidnapped[39] Dakota War leaders Sakpe (Little Six or Shakopee) and Wakanozhanzhan (Medicine Bottle) [See Figure 6].

During and after the War, numerous non-captive Dakota fled for their lives, many to Canada. Concurrently, captured Dakota warriors and able men were marched south to a military tribunal in Mankato, Minnesota. Near the end of the trials, which were conducted quickly and without due process, 303 Dakota men were sentenced to hang, convicted of "murder and other outrages."[40] However, President Lincoln commuted 265 of the warriors' sentences before their proposed execution,[41] reducing the number convicted to thirty-eight. On December 26, 1862, the U.S. government hung these thirty-eight Dakota men at the gallows. It was and remains the largest mass execution in U.S. history.[42] In 1863, the Dakota Expulsion Act annulled all previous treaties between the Dakota and the U.S. government and declared it illegal for Dakota people to live within the boundaries of the State of Minnesota. The law, now almost 150 years old, still stands today.[43]

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[39] Sakpe and Wakanozhanzhan had fled to Canada at the end of the War. In the summer of 1863 the State of Minnesota placed bounties and performed punitive expeditions that would reward soldiers and settlers for killing Dakota people and apprehending their scalps. Officials prioritized the capture of Dakota War leaders, leading to the drugging and kidnapping of Sakpe and Wakanozhanzhan in 1864. They were brought back to Fort Snelling for trial. No "tangible evidence of their guilt" was brought before the court. Nevertheless, both were sentenced to death by hanging. Kenneth Carley, *The Dakota War of 1862* 2nd ed., (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2001), 75; "Timeline," The U.S.-Dakota War of 1862, http://www.usdakotawar.org/timeline.

[40] Frances H. Kennedy and Troy D. Smith, *American Indian Places: A Historical Guidebook* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2008), 163.

[41] After the trials, thirty-nine Dakota men were sentenced to be executed on December 26, 1862. However, shortly before the execution, Tatemina's (Round Wind's) sentence was reprieved due to "questionable testimony." "Brief History of the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862," The U.S.-Dakota War of 1862, Minnesota Historical Society, accessed March 28, 2012, http://www.usdakotawar.org.

[42] Kenneth Carley, *The Dakota War of 1862*, 73-5.

[43] "Act of March 3, 1863, c. 119, 12 Stat. 819." United States Congress. 1863. The law is no longer enforced but has not been stricken from the books. Today, the Dakota people live across many reservations and geographical locales, mainly in North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Montana, or in the Manitoba and Saskatchewan provinces in Canada. Curt Brown, "150 Year Later, War's Wounds Still Cut Deep," *Star Tribune*, January 29, 2012, accessed April 20, 2012, http://www.startribune.com/local/138264074.html.

OTHER HISTORIES AT THE FORT

The larger history of habitation, military force, and interaction at and facilitated by Fort Snelling is wide-ranging and diverse.[44] In the early 1800s, future President Zachary Taylor served as commander at Fort Snelling. Dred Scott lived here as a slave in free territory from 1836 to 1840. In fact, many slaves lived at Fort Snelling in direct contradiction to the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 and the Missouri Compromise of 1820. In the late nineteenth century, many of the men who fought in wars and campaigns under federal policies of Indian removal trained at the fort. This includes General George Custer as well as the 7th Cavalry Regiment, which fought the Battle of Little Bighorn and perpetrated the massacre of Lakota men, women, and children at Wounded Knee.

Fort Snelling was also a decisive military training ground for the U.S. Civil War. More than 22,000 Northern troops were "funneled through" the fort. This includes the First Minnesota Regiment, a volunteer infantry which endured enormous casualties but was crucial to Northern victory at the Battle of Gettysburg.[45] Later, U.S. troops trained here for deployment in the Spanish American War, and most or all of the 118,500 Minnesotans who served in the First World War were processed here.[46] Midwestern troops were processed here during the Second World War, and from 1944 to 1946 Fort Snelling was home to the Defense Language Institute, a safe haven for Nisei servicemen who participated in counterintelligence training.[47] Finally, among other notable U.S.

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[44] "The Expansionist Era (1805-1858)," Historic Fort Snelling, Minnesota Historical Society, accessed March 15, 2012, http://www.historicfortsnelling.org/history/military-history/expansionist-era.

[45] Brian Leehan, *Pale Horse at Plum Run: The First Minnesota at Gettysburg* (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2002).

[46] Larew, "Nomination Form," March 15, 1978.

[47] "Nisei" is a term that describes second-generation Japanese Americans. According to MHS, graduates of the language institute at Fort Snelling "broke codes, served on the front lines, and even became instructors." Many of these servicemen ultimately fought in the Pacific theater of the Second World War. "Military Intelligence Service Language School at Fort Snelling," Minnesota Historical Society, accessed March 30, 2012, http://www.mnhs.org/library/tips/history_topics/120language_school.html.

military histories, Fort Snelling National Cemetery, the Upper Midwest's "shrine to democracy,"[48] rests nearby the fort's walls. Over 200,000 U.S. servicepersons are buried here.

Much as it is perched on the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers, Fort Snelling is also perched upon a confluence of histories, spiritualities, memories, and stories. Importantly, the focus on a certain history today at Historic Fort Snelling often serves—whether knowingly or unknowingly—political purposes. Gordon maintains that in order to understand and enact change in contemporary life, persons must better understand that what has been perpetrated in the past continues to affect us today. She maintains, "we must learn how to identify hauntings and reckon with ghosts, must learn how to make contact with what is without doubt often painful, difficult, and unsettling."[49]

Dallas Ross, an enrollee at the Upper Sioux Dakota reservation in Minnesota, speaks of Fort Snelling in a similar manner. He intones, "The land never forgets. That's another thing of Dakota spirituality. The land has a memory. Someday someone will be reminded of what happened there. It probably won't be good."[50] While political ideologies—most principally ones that encourage stories of peaceful U.S. settlement in the West—may be present at Historic Fort Snelling, other memories persist here, waiting

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[48] Originally founded in 1870, Fort Snelling National Cemetery was officially established in 1939 to inter soldiers who served and died in the First World War. Today, any veteran or serving member of the U.S. armed forces is eligible for burial. Stephen Chicoine, *Our Hallowed Ground: World War II Veterans of Fort Snelling National Cemetery* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), xi.

[49] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 23

[50] Dallas Ross, Interview with Deborah Locke, May 5, 2011, transcript, U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 Oral History Project, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, MN. In this study I have included excerpts from eight oral histories with Dakota persons. These were performed by MHS for the purposes of a forthcoming exhibit, website, and institutional initiative about the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862. As MHS states, they have been and continue to be "collecting dozens of oral histories from Dakota people throughout Minnesota, the Midwest and Canada and also from settler descendants in southwestern Minnesota." These oral histories will become part of MHS's permanent collection. Transcripts as well as audio will be available for public use beginning in the winter of 2012. "Oral History Project," The U.S.-Dakota War of 1862, Minnesota Historical Society, accessed April 27, 2012, http://www.usdakotawar.org/initiatives/oral-history-project.

to be remembered. Ross continues, "It's a place that should be remembered, but the memories, well, if you stay there long enough, it really wouldn't matter which side of the history you're remembering, it would still be sad."[51]

Much of the histories of Fort Snelling are, indeed, sad. Here, Ross's insistence that "if you stay there long enough" even persons with conflicting historical interpretations would comprehend this sadness is telling. It suggests that not just individual groups—Dakota, white, U.S. servicepersons and their descendants, those people formerly enslaved at the fort—but rather *everyone* would discern a sense of grief at Fort Snelling. This comprehension occurs because "the land never forgets": hauntings, ones that survive because of the effects of imperialism, colonialism, and human abstraction on this land, exist here. This study argues that Historic Fort Snelling, a living history site, is a text that necessitates a "staying" or re-articulation; only then may it re-appropriate its own history and haunting. Although Fort Snelling's histories and memories may go unmentioned, they are still very much alive.

[51] Ross, Interview with Deborah Locke, May 5, 2011, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, MN.

Chapter II: A Living History at Historic Fort Snelling

Within collective memories a dialectic exists between the willfully recalled and the deliberately forgotten –W. Fitzhugh Brundage[52]

Annually, from Memorial Day to Labor Day, large groups of schoolchildren, chaperones, veterans, and tourists walk a path toward Historic Fort Snelling's gates [See Figure 7]. I grew up in Minneapolis and was myself one of these schoolchildren. Even though I visited Historic Fort Snelling many times as a child, I never took much from my field trips, beyond thoughts that life must have been boring for a child "on the prairie."[53] Along the path that stretches toward the fort gates now stand commemorative blue-and-white plaques, which were inserted into the grounds in 2011 [See Figure 8]. Titled "Fort Snelling Internment Camp" and "Executions at Fort Snelling," the plaques detail how the site where visitors stand was intimately connected to the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862. They tell where U.S. forces concentrated Dakota women, children, and elders at Fort Snelling after the War, and where U.S. officials executed Dakota leaders Sakpe and Waknozhanzhan at Fort Snelling in 1865. The plaques serve as clues, ones that hint at trauma inscribed on this site. These new additions to the fort's narrative, be they small, point to something I never experienced as a schoolchild visiting Historic Fort Snelling.

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[52] W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Class of Race and Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 5.

[53] In the tradition of feminist scholarship, I will state my positionality. I am a white Minnesotan of mostly German and English ancestry. I visited Fort Snelling about seven times, mostly as a child or pre-adolescent, before it piqued my scholarly interest. As an undergraduate and graduate student in American studies, I have interned for the Minnesota Historical Society, once in the exhibits department and this past summer of 2011 as a research assistant for the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 Oral History Project, which is a component of the forthcoming 2012 commemorative exhibit on the War at the Minnesota History Center. Additionally, my mother Lory Sutton currently holds the position of Chief Marketing Officer at MHS, and has worked at the Society for over a decade. I came to learn of the controversy behind Historic Fort Snelling and of the "Take Down the Fort" campaign in 2002, because my mother was helping to write a press release about the event in my family's living room. Although I have these ties to MHS, I do not speak for MHS, nor does the institution speak for me. I have never been intimately involved with any aspect of the operation of Historic Fort Snelling. Even with my more extensive institutional knowledge of MHS, at Fort Snelling I consider myself a well-informed visitor: one who has the ability to be interested, perplexed, and critical.

They indicate experiences not of pride, but of remorse—of a deep and shameful sadness living on this land.

Fort Snelling remained a functioning military base and training ground until shortly after the Second World War. During the 1940s, its round tower served as a museum and gallery space. In the 1950s the fort faced threats of demolition by proposed highway construction, and through efforts led by the Minnesota Historical Society (MHS) and concerned citizens, was officially "saved" for purposes of historic preservation. During the beginning of this preservation process, archeologists started finding artifacts at the site, "uncovering," as Kevin Maijala, Program Manager of Education Outreach at MHS, tells, "a much deeper story." Coupled with the knowledge that this was an important site to U.S. history, Maijala describes that the finds ignited "the instinct… to preserve and interpret it much more than a static exhibit could offer."[54]

In the decades just after its preservation, MHS made the decision for Historic Fort Snelling to embrace an embodied historical interpretation. Celebrations of the U.S. Bicentennial in the 1970s, as well as growing recognition of Colonial Williamsburg's costumed interpretation program, helped to inspire this decision. Maijala explains that living history programs were and continue to be understood as "more responsive to visitor needs and questions," than other museum offerings. This is because their primary focus, as Maijala describes, "[shows] how 'average' people lived."[55] This deliberate choice made by conservators and MHS officials to embrace a performance-based interpretation of "average" Minnesotans resulted in the choosing of a specific decade—the 1820s—to represent Fort Snelling's history. Because of this decision, MHS

[54] Kevin Maijala, Email to author, April 24, 2012.
[55] Ibid.

determined that it must "remove evidence of other eras," while "restoring" and physically rebuilding the fort to match its believed appearance in the 1820s. [56]

Over 80,000 people visit Historic Fort Snelling each year, making it the third-most visited historic site in Minnesota. Wedged between the municipalities of Minneapolis and Saint Paul; situated within sight of the Minneapolis-St. Paul International Airport; just a short exit off two of the state's highway systems; and in the middle of two major U.S. waterways, Fort Snelling's very position speaks to its importance to the state and its history. Today, Historic Fort Snelling's living history program caters chiefly to schoolchildren on class trips and participating in summer camps, as well as to teachers who hope to round out their lessons on early Minnesota history. One of the site's most popular programs is its "Little House in the Big Fort" or "Huck Finn" summer camps, where schoolchildren can re-enact versions of history represented in works of American fiction.[57] Additionally, many U.S. veterans, who could one day be buried just outside, visit the fort and participate in public programs about U.S. war history.

When visitors step through the gates of Historic Fort Snelling, re-enactors dressed in formal military suiting and carrying large muskets welcome them to an interpretation of Fort Snelling during the 1820s [See Figure 9]. From there, a visitor acclimates through various fort-sanctioned activities: by interacting with a blacksmith who fashions horseshoes, by mock-shopping and sifting through the supplies in the sutler's store, or by watching soldiers in bright white suits shoot muskets or launch cannon fire during

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[56] This erasure of non-1820s historical signifiers mandated the destruction of a WPA mural by artist Richard Haines, located in Fort Snelling's main tower. The mural included a depiction of Dakota people. Bruce White, "Tearing Down Fort Snelling—Why It Makes Sense," *MinnesotaHistory.net*, April 19, 2009, accessed April 20, 2012, http://minnesotahistory.net/?p=1339.

[57] "Upcoming Events," Historic Fort Snelling, Minnesota Historical Society, accessed April 21, 2012, http://events.mnhs.org/calendar/Index.cfm?VenueID=12&CFID=8480516&CFTOKEN=75442477.

infantry drills [See Figures 10, 11, and 12]. Historic re-enactors lead all of these activities, helping, as MHS states, "bring the past to life!"[58]

MHS has put much effort into the fort's aesthetics and daily operations. MHS officials and consulted scholars maintain that Historic Fort Snelling matches, to the best of its ability, the "reality" of the 1820s, from the bareness of its barracks to the authenticity of the officers' muskets and the goods for sale in its sutler's store. The fort's re-enactors are mostly white,[59] but are not all men (the fort's baker, for instance, is often portrayed by a woman). In order to work at the site, re-enactors must undergo training in musketry and take tests about the fort's history. These tests concentrate on the nineteenth-century fur trade and military history, and include questions about Dred Scott's and American Indians' history at and around the fort.[60]

My trips to Historic Fort Snelling as well as conversations with MHS officials and volunteers reveal that, generally, re-enactors interpret the fort's inhabitants as industrious and duty-driven, persons living in an uncertain country and time. However, *what* these military men were training or stationed here for is never made very clear to visitors. Moreover, a picture of life that exists outside the fort's stone walls, or even outside its daily schedules—bread-baking arrangements, the afternoon's parade march and artillery firing—is largely absent. In *Destination Culture* Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett writes of Plimoth Plantation, another U.S. living history museum. She describes that although Plimoth purports to operate "as it was then"—then being early seventeenth-century, British-occupied Eastern America, and remains loyal to character and period—the site is

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[58] "History," Historic Fort Snelling, Minnesota Historical Society, accessed April 2, 2012, http://www.historicfortsnelling.org/history.

[59] John Bartholow, a volunteer re-enactor who worked at Historic Fort Snelling in the summers of 2010 and 2011, told me that as far as he knew, only one person working alongside him claimed non-white heritage. This man possessed American Indian ancestry. John Bartholow, Personal interview, March 11, 2012.

[60] Ibid.

actually more "imaginary" than historical. Although Plimoth claims to be a specific place at a specific time, the site functions as "both museum and [as] theater."[61]

In contrast to places like Plimoth Plantation and Colonial Williamsburg, Historic Fort Snelling does not maintain such staunch decade and first-person character qualifications.[62] After 2005, MHS officially changed the fort's first-person program. For the most part, re-enactors no longer "play" or perform as if they are real persons in the past. Instead they re-enact 1820s circumstances and schedules, but speak to visitors as if they occupy a similar timespace. Former re-enactor John Bartholow describes that this new program was "designed… to address sensitive topics like slavery and Native-American relations without sounding offensive."[63] Moreover, although within the fort's walls the living history program dominates interpretation, in the welcoming center there is a film, in addition to rotating exhibits, that interpret the fort's history in other ways, as Maijala says, "to try and meet different learning styles."[64] As of late, state-wide budget cuts have prevented a more comprehensive review and reconstruction of the site's interpretation.

The only specific people who lived at Fort Snelling in the 1820s that remain named and in character at Historic Fort Snelling today are Colonel Snelling and his wife. Other re-enactors employ past tense and speak in third person as they explain their role at the fort to visitors. They are also willing to answer questions, should a visitor put them

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[61] Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1998), 190.

[62] For more studies of American living history museums, as well as history museum's operations and controversies over historical interpretation, see: Richard Handler and Eric Gable, *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1997); Edward T. Linenthal and Tom Engelhard eds., *History Wars* (New York: Holt, 1996); Jennifer L. Eichstedt and Stephen Small, *Representations of Slavery: Race and Ideology in Southern Plantation Museums* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 2002); and Amy Lonetree, *The National Museum of the American Indian: Critical Conversations* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008).

[63] Bartholow, Personal interview, March 11, 2012.

[64] Maijala, Email to author, April 24, 2012.

forth, about happenings at Fort Snelling beyond the 1820s. An interpreter now sits where it is believed Dred Scott lived as a slave at Fort Snelling [See Figure 13]. This more obviously disregards an enforced 1820s time period, as Scott lived at Fort Snelling from 1836 to 1840.[65] However, this addition of Dred Scott's story—or more pointedly, the very fact that Dred Scott once lived at Fort Snelling at all—points to a more complex historical narrative than this "true"-to-the-1820s living history program relays.

Much like the plaques that dot visitors' paths as they walk toward the fort gates, something creeps in here. When this living history site is modified even slightly, letting more narrative in, a very different version of history can be discerned. These suggest other things that have graced this fort, things that are not all military drills and bread-baking. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett describes how the knowledge present at Plimoth Plantation is "partial," and that it depends on an "active forgetting" of events that transpired after the environment presented.[66] This active forgetting of events after as well as *before* the 1820s at Historic Fort Snelling, while seemingly benign, includes enormous happenings—be they spiritual, political, cultural, or otherwise. When a person hears more of the stories

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[65] The history of black slaves being brought to and living illegally in the Northwest and later the Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa Territories is very much a part of the history of Fort Snelling. In 1826 Doctor John Emerson assumed a surgical post at Fort Snelling, and brought his slaves with him, including Dred Scott. Scott met and married his wife Harriet, another slave, at Fort Snelling. Although both the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 and the Missouri Compromise of 1820 outlawed slaves in the northern territories, the practice of slavery continued after these federal decisions. Indeed, many enslaved persons lived at Fort Snelling; MHS estimates that anywhere from fifteen to thirty lived there at any given time in the 1820s and 1830s. "Slavery at Fort Snelling," Historic Fort Snelling, Minnesota Historical Society, accessed March 30, 2012, http://www.historicforsnelling.org/history/slavery-fort-snelling. Dred and Harriet Scott's time at Fort Snelling, along with the Scotts' time spent as slaves in the free states of Illinois and Iowa, was the foundation on which they petitioned for their freedom in the U.S. Supreme Court case *Dred Scott v. Stanford*. The Dred Scott Decision of 1857 ruled that no person descended from African heritage—no matter slave nor free—could be a United States citizen under the dictates of the Constitution. Dred Scott was thus considered private property, and federal measures like the Missouri Compromise, written to qualm ideological and violent unrest between the North and the South, were nullified. The decision helped push the country toward Civil War, which erupted four years later in 1861. Don E. Fehrenbacher, *The Dred Scott Case: Its Significance in American Law and Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[66] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett*, Destination Culture*, 195-7.

that people tell and memories that people possess about this land, Fort Snelling becomes much more historically significant and consequential.

For visitors, however, the histories and memories alive at Fort Snelling are not very evident at Historic Fort Snelling. The early U.S. military story currently relayed is largely non-combative, depicting what is described on their website as "a relatively peaceful time in the Northwest Territory."[67] Although musket-filled, it is a tranquil history, interrupted by only a few shocks: that of gunfire drills, the plaques near the gates, an introduction film that tells of war with American Indians, and Dred Scott's living quarters. Historic Fort Snelling is both physically and figuratively tucked away, strangely quiet in the midst of such explosive histories.[68]

This is not to say that various populations do not hold clear stake in the fort's current interpretation. The re-enactment program and the offerings available onsite promote a narrative of U.S. patriotism that may satisfy many visitors, from schoolchildren to veterans, teachers to tourists. Historic Fort Snelling's conservation during the Vietnam War—a military campaign that reflects strains of U.S. imperialism—and its continued existence during military projects like Operation Iraqi Freedom, is salient. This patriotic narrative could serve to justify U.S. military campaigns of the past, present, and future, verifying Gordon's claim that "history cannot be separated from practices of domination."[69]

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[67] "The Expansionist Era (1805-1858)," Historic Fort Snelling, Minnesota Historical Society, accessed March 28, 2012, http://www.historicfortsnelling.org/history/military-history/expansionist-era.

[68] Similarly, the scholarly literature produced about Fort Snelling is sparse. Most of the materials about Fort Snelling were written over half a century ago. These usually speak of the achievement of establishing the fort in "uncertain" land. A 1950 history book about the fort is titled, tellingly, "Citadel in the Wilderness." Jones, *Citadel in the Wilderness*; Marcus Lee Hansen, *Old Fort Snelling,* 1918.

[69] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 344.

PRIVILEGING A SPECIFIC HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

What counts for history at Historic Fort Snelling, specifically MHS's celebration of white settlement in the American West, was deliberately brought about by its very preservation. In *The Southern Past*, W. Fitzhugh Brundage describes a similar phenomenon in the American South, when in the late nineteenth century white women's clubs began publically championing Confederate heroes and literally cemented, through statues, libraries, and other projects, a view of the Southern past as white and not black. Brundage illuminates, "public space serves to reproduce social relations that define some members of a society worthy of access to public life and others unworthy."[70] Importantly, clear actors—preservationists—defined what histories or historic actors merited public memorial. Speaking of these white women conservators of the South, Brundage claims that the success of these groups depended on "the result of the vision, resources, and talents they devoted to being 'guardians of the past.'"[71]

In a 1978 application for consideration to the National Register of Historic Places, MHS historians, conservators, and grant writer Marilynn Larew claimed that Fort Snelling "brought the first culture to a raw country."[72] However, many Minnesotans know that this land was occupied by Indigenous Nations and defined by Indigenous cultures—as well as European imperial trading cultures—before Fort Snelling was built. In other words, many Minnesotans were well aware that their state was not "raw," or vacant land prior to U.S. colonization. Furthermore, many Minnesotans today do not agree that the fort's history should be painted with celebratory, manifest destiny-inflected

[70] Brundage, *Southern Past*, 6
[71] Ibid,. 41.
[72] Larew, "Nomination Form," March 15, 1978.

rhetoric. In a letter to the editor of the Minneapolis *Star Tribune*[73] on June 12, 2010, Minnesotan Robin Johnson decried,

> America treats its cultural places like glorified amusement parks… until Minnesotan adults stop thinking of their state's history and culture as being the sole province of children, the complex arguments will never make an appearance inside [Historic Fort Snelling].[74]

Although children and U.S. veterans may be its principal audience, this is because Historic Fort Snelling was designed for them. Through its preservation, government officials, MHS, and concerned citizens deliberately chose to represent a version of the past at Historic Fort Snelling that excludes Dakota history and colonial history, as well as more varied or dissimilar memories about this site.

Over the course of the past decade or so, as representation at Historic Fort Snelling has come under deeper scrutiny, MHS officials have started to assert that they have an obligation to tell a multiplicity of histories at the fort. Typically, this assertion is coupled with a declaration that no *one* history should be privileged at Historic Fort Snelling. In 2008 the *Star Tribune* published "Fort Snelling: Should its History be Told?" written by Nina Archibal, the then-Director of MHS. Archibal states, "Fort Snelling lies at the crossroads of Minnesota's and our nation's history," but insists,

> It is time to open the lens of history wider, to include our diverse Minnesota communities in presenting the past, and to address differences of opinion about the events that unfolded in this place.

While she calls for the "widening" of the site's historic lens, Archibal stresses that Fort Snelling is above all "a landscape of many meanings." She describes it as a meeting place of many cultures—"American Indian, white and African-American"—and also argues

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[73] *The Star Tribune* is the Minneapolis Saint Paul metropolitan area's premier newspaper.

[74] Nina Archibal, "Fort Snelling: Should its History Be Told?," *Star Tribune*, February 16, 2008, accessed March 20, 2012, http://www.startribune.com/opinion/15679447.html.

that "we must tell their stories and the stories of [the fort's] soldiers of every era."[75] However, Archibal's statements, even four years after the publishing of this editorial, remain incongruous or even contradictory to the daily life at Historic Fort Snelling. Critics, Dakota and non-Dakota, argue that the history presented through the living history program represents only one community and tells one very particular, fabricated story. Opponents of the fort as-is argue that a true transformation at Historic Fort Snelling must allow for a "seeing" of U.S. imperialism, along with a "seeing" of the systematic dispossession, concentration, and death of the Dakota people on this land.

DEBATES OVER FORT SNELLING'S HISTORY

On May 10, 2008, about fifty Dakota people and allies protested a celebration of the Minnesota Sesquicentennial, which was to culminate with a re-enacted settler's wagon train ending at Historic Fort Snelling. Protesters strategically positioned their bodies across roadways to obstruct the wagons' path to the fort. They held signs declaring "150 Years of Lies," or intoning, "I am not Invisible." A protester with a megaphone pronounced that those who celebrated Minnesota's 150th birthday were "killers, and liars, and land stealers."[76] Founder and director of the American Indian Movement (AIM) Clide Bellecourt spoke publically about the protest, insisting that the demonstration was necessary, relating, "the press doesn't show up unless you do something like this."[77] Police action ended the protest, and law enforcement cited seven of the protesters for disorderly conduct. As Bellecourt suggested would happen, the

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[75] Archibal, "Should its History Be Told?," *Star Tribune,* February 16, 2008.
[76] Scott Russell, "Dakota Protesters Meet Sesquicentennial Wagon Train," *Twin Cities Daily Planet*, May 10, 2008, accessed February 29, 2012, http://www.tcdailyplanet.net/article/2008/05/10/dakota-protesters-meet-sesquicentennial-wagon-train.html.
[77] Ibid.

Associated Press, the *Star Tribune*, and local television stations produced news stories about the demonstration.

This 2008 protest was organized by Waziyatawin, a Dakota woman who published *What Does Justice Look Like?: The Struggle for Liberation in Dakota Homeland* in the same year. The book models a path to reparative justice for the Dakota people. A former tenured professor of history at Arizona State University and now an independent scholar and activist by choice, Waziyatawin is perhaps the most vocal opponent of MHS's presentation of history at Fort Snelling. She earned her doctorate in history from Cornell University, and maintains that she pursued the degree so that she could dedicate her life and work to advocate for the Dakota people.[78] She began "Take Down the Fort" protests in 2006, focusing on awareness campaigns and demonstrations outside the fort. An entire chapter of her book concentrates on Fort Snelling. Waziyatawin argues that the fort is an icon of American imperialism and Dakota genocide [See Figure 14]. She maintains that it is both a signifier as well as an actual force of colonial oppression, and that Dakota and allies "must pursue a campaign to 'Take Down the Fort,' both literally and metaphorically."[79]

Waziyatawin admits that many Dakota may not see the fort as an unremitting symbol of the injustice perpetrated by the U.S. and Minnesota governments against Dakota people. She explains, "as colonized people we have come to accept it [the presence of Fort Snelling on sacred Dakota land] as part of the unchangeable reality of

[78] Waziyatawin explained to me, "It was my father who actually encouraged me to go into the field of history… One of the things he told me was, with his Ph.D., he was still dismissed by white society when it came to Dakota history because his Ph.D. was not in history. His perspective was not considered valid still, even though he had a Ph.D.; grew up in a rich oral tradition; had studied the history academically; it didn't matter, because of that disciplinary breach… So I ended up going into history. And so, all of my academic work, I think, can go back to… really trying to exert our stories, our perspective, our voice, amidst the broader society. And, at the time I believed a Ph.D. in history would allow me to do that." Waziyatawin, Personal interview, March 5, 2012.

[79] Waziyatawin, *Justice,* 12.

colonization."[80] However, Waziyatawin stresses that this "reality" is simply an "overarching master narrative," forced upon the Dakota and Minnesotans, that "celebrates White settlement in Minnesota at the expense of Dakota claim" to land.[81] She argues that Historic Fort Snelling's master narrative must be challenged and destroyed.

Waziyatawin is clear to state that she does not speak for all Dakota people. She comments, "Of course there are multiple truths in terms of perspective. There is no one Dakota truth. You'll get as many Dakota perspectives as people you ask."[82] Many Dakota people—and not just those who protest alongside Waziyatawin—agree that Fort Snelling is a place where histories of oppression are not fully conveyed. Raymond Owen, enrolled at the Prairie Island Dakota Indian Community in Minnesota, speaks of Fort Snelling as so, stating, "It wasn't a place of brotherhood and unity and sharing. Not our idea of Dakota. [Those at the fort] had a bent sense of purpose: colonization and forced religion, racism."[83] Waziyatawin's activism and scholarship, as well as the expressed feelings of other Dakota activists and supporters, demand a rethinking of the past at Historic Fort Snelling, as well as a reimagining of its future.

Similar to the work of the scholars of colonialism and its continuing presence in contemporary life like Albert Memmi,[84] Waziyatawin's activism insists that one of the first steps toward justice is through language. Instead of settlement around the Fort

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[80] Waziyatawin*, Justice,* 98.

[81] Ibid., 101.

[82] Waziyatawin, Personal interview, March 5, 2012.

[83] Raymond Owen, Interview with Deborah Locke, April 20, 2011, transcript, U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 Oral History Project, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, MN.

[84] When asked about some of the political, historical, or scholarly writings that influenced her as a history student and later as an activist, Waziyatawin stated, "The classic works on oppression and decolonization were key to my own intellectual growth: Frantz Fanon, Albert Memmi, Paulo Freire, Ngugi wa Thiong'o. Indigenous intellectuals such as [Vine] Deloria, Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, and Michael Yellow Bird were also hugely important to my work. Yellow Bird's 'Model of the Effects of Colonialism' was important to me in realizing the various manifestations of colonialism in Indigenous life in the US." Waziyatawin, Email to author, April 21, 2012.

Snelling site, Waziyatawin speaks of "white invasion." She insists that Minnesotans, who she calls "white settler society," have profited enormously from Dakota homeland, and need to be shocked into seeing and performing contrition for this reality. Her work contends that Minnesotans need to start explaining their lives and Minnesota's history in these terms. Speaking of U.S. and Minnesotan Indian policies, Waziyatawin cites "land theft," "ethnocide," and "ethnic cleansing." In direct relation to Historic Fort Snelling, Waziyatawin maintains the importance of calling the site a "concentration camp,"[85] and the forced march of Dakota women, children, and elders to the fort after the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 a "death march." Above all, the calculated language of Waziyatawin's scholarship emphasizes the word "colonization." Her deployment of this word directly contradicts the popular American myth of "the land of the free."[86]

David Harvey discusses the power of mobilizing place for purposes of social, political, and cultural justice. He claims that in order to achieve their aims, mass political undertakings like the U.S. Civil Rights movement often depended on a rallying around a physical space and claiming it as a crucial identifier or emblem.[87] However, sympathy for those who suffered, died, and/or were killed at Fort Snelling does not necessarily mean that all Dakota have mobilized or even agree that the fort should be torn down. Dean Blue of the Upper Sioux Indian Reservation maintains:

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[85] MHS has chosen to update their current literature to say the camp at Fort Snelling was "an internment camp, also referred to as a concentration camp." Lory Sutton, Chief Marketing Officer at MHS, describes that after much institutional debate, MHS has chosen "to lead with internment, which was the term used in the day and avoids the Nazi death camp similarity, where people were systematically killed." Lory Sutton, Email to author, April 21, 2012.

[86] Waziyatawin, Personal interview, March 5, 2012.

[87] David Harvey, *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 179.

> As long as it's there, as far as I'm concerned, let it remain. But I have no reason other than: just let it remain, not as a remembrance, or not because of hatred, or not because I condone it. None of those—it's there, so let it stand.[88]

Of course, the fact that Dakota voices do not converge on a solution speaks to the dissonance even within communities, not to mention within the broader context of Minnesota, about how to represent history at Historic Fort Snelling and what Fort Snelling means.

Waziyatawin claims that in order to tell this history, citizens must contest Fort Snelling's, Minnesota's, and the U.S.'s master narrative of the relative peace of white settlement in the American West. She takes offense to the recent inclusion of plaques at the fort that explicate Dakota "internment" and execution, calling them "absolutely lame attempts" to insert Dakota history into the site.[89] Additionally, Waziyatawin expresses her belief that Dakota presence at Fort Snelling is purposely clouded by MHS through words like "complexity." Instead, she insists that the history of the fort is not so complex: this is a history of colonization, genocide, and a reaping of Dakota homeland. Waziyatawin explains,

> What I see here is a pretty simple story. What you have is a fort, which is a symbol of domination… no matter where you go in the world, that's what forts are. They are physical structures meant to dominate the landscape to protect whatever population is within the fort, and to establish dominance within the land. That's what they do.[90]

Although MHS acknowledges that Fort Snelling is a fort, it does not offer a straightforward history of U.S. policies of imperialism that were carried out by the fort and its inhabitants. As Gordon argues of contemporary culture, by continuing to leave

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[88] Dean Blue, Interview with Deborah Locke, April 27, 2011, transcript, U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 Oral History Collection, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, MN.
[89] Waziyatawin, Personal interview, March 5, 2012.
[90] Ibid.

these systems of dominance unmentioned, Historic Fort Snelling has "renewed a commitment to blindness."[91]

Beginning in 2007, opinion editorials concerning Fort Snelling started appearing in the *Star Tribune*. The first piece published was written by contributor Lori Sturdevant. She urged Minnesotans to "own up to the truth" of the indecencies and horrors perpetrated against the Dakota people during the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 and Dakota concentration at Fort Snelling.[92] A few weeks later the *Tribune* printed an opinion editorial by Waziyatawin, "Time to Level," proposing that Minnesotans begin a laborious, transformative process dedicated to "truth telling," especially in light of legislative plans to celebrate the state's forthcoming sesquicentennial.[93]

Other members of the Minnesota community pushed forth more concrete suggestions of how and in what way Historic Fort Snelling's interpretation should change. Jeffrey Kolnick, a history professor at Southwest Minnesota State, states in a February 2008 editorial that "the Minnesota Historical Society might want to portray Fort Snelling as having once been an outpost of development in the wilderness, but this only reveals ignorance, shortsightedness and racism." Kolnick proposes removing the fort and reconstructing it on "more neutral ground," as well as building a "Minnesota Museum of Genocide," a "monument to the living memory of genocide," where Historic Fort Snelling currently stands.[94]

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[91] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 227

[92] Lori Sturdevant, "A Time When Cultures Met—And Clashed," *Star Tribune*, October 27, 2007, accessed February 2, 2012, http://www.startribune.com/opinion/11150686.html.

[93] Waziyatawin Angela Wilson, "Time to Level," *Star Tribune*, December 2, 2007, accessed February 6, 2012, http://www.startribune.com/opinion/15679667.html.

[94] Jeffrey Kolnick, "Fort Snelling on the Agenda," *Star Tribune*, February 16, 2008, accessed February 6, 2012, http://www.startribune.com/opinion/15679667.

TRUTH-TELLING, NEO-LIBERALISM, AND COLONIAL APHASIA

Much controversy exists within MHS and between those who hold stake in representations at Fort Snelling over the phrase "truth telling." The primary argument against its use highlights the undeniable subjectivity that composes anyone's recognition of truth. In essence, this argument could, and often does, lead to the assertion that Dred Scott's truth, a Minnesota Civil War veteran's truth, a Dakota elder who lived at bdote's truth, Colonel Josiah Snelling's truth, the fort bread baker's truth, an eighteenth-century Mississippi fur trader's truth, and visitors to the fort today's truths, among thousands of others, all currently exist at Fort Snelling. In other words, the land encompasses all of these people's truths now, no matter whether it possesses them justly or unjustly.

In reaction to a forthcoming exhibit in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 at the Minnesota History Center,[95] MHS staff has recently begun a "Truth Recovery Project."[96] MHS qualifies the manner in which they talk about the truth this forthcoming exhibit will "recover," stating on its website,

> The term 'truth recovery' may imply that there is a single truth about what happened before, during and after the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862. In fact, there are multiple, often conflicting, interpretations about what happened, why it happened and who was responsible.[97]

By treading very carefully, MHS has positioned itself as a conveyer of stories, as an institution that can house and present multiple interpretations of the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862. This ensures that Minnesotans and persons of Dakota heritage may better feel that

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[95] The Minnesota History Center is MHS's largest museum. It houses all MHS's central administrative offices, and is located near downtown Saint Paul, the capital of Minnesota.

[96] The project was inspired by Healing Through Remembering, an organization that deals with memories of conflict in Northern Ireland. "Healing Through Remembering," accessed March 28, 2012, http://www.healingthroughremembering.org/.

[97] "Exhibit and Truth Recovery Project," The U.S.-Dakota War of 1862, Minnesota Historical Society, accessed March 28, 2012, http://www.usdakotawar.org/minnesota-tragedy-us-dakota-war-1862-exhibit-and-truth-recovery-project.

their stories are represented by MHS. Components of this "truth-telling" initiative include the oral histories employed in this study.[98]

While strategies like these appear on face as progressive, their materialized results often align with the tenants of neo-liberalism. Avery F. Gordon can help illuminate the structures that these neo-liberalist arguments and strategies thrive in, stating,

> Today scholars know more than they ever have about the subtleties of domination, about the intersections of the modern systems that organize the production, reproduction, and distribution of social life, about the edifice of constructions upon which culture sings and weeps, about the memories and the overflowing accounts of the disremembered and the unaccounted for. Yet our country's major institutions—the corporation, the law, the state, the media, the public—recognize narrower and narrower evidence for the harms and indignities that citizens and residents experience.[99]

In essence, institutions are increasingly incapable of recognizing systems of domination that affect many of the persons and communities they are supposed to serve, at the same time that others are increasingly identifying and explicating these systems. Institutions such as these operate in a neo-liberal framework, one that disempowers persons who are not members of a capitalist ruling class—or those who more simply do not have power and have not had it for quite some time. Here, while MHS's initiative may be considered an opening up of understanding in favor of individual memory and freedom of interpretation, in reality it continues to operate within a structure where narrative power remains in the hands of the already powerful.[100] As result, while other histories are

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[98] The strategy is part of a broader approach by MHS to better relay Dakota history and memory. MHS now possesses an Indian Advisory Committee. This committee is composed of many Dakota members who are called on for their opinions and recommendations on specific topics of historical representation. In recent years, MHS has begun more vigorously seeking out the opinions, help, and work of Dakota people. Nevertheless, controversies remain over who MHS chooses as advisors, and whether MHS heeds the suggestions of these Dakota advisors.

[99] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 206

[100] David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

gestured to, the systems—namely colonization—that perpetrated many of these histories remain unmentioned or unexamined.

Waziyatawin acknowledges that everyone's history and truth has the right to be told and heard. However, when it comes to Fort Snelling as well as the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862, she claims that the main frameworks behind occurrences—colonialism, oppression, ethnocide, and genocide perpetrated by the U.S. government and "white settler society"—are still markedly absent from the MHS's "truth-telling" initiative. Furthermore, Waziyatawin argues that the Dakota truth should be privileged at Historic Fort Snelling. She asserts,

> This is a Dakota homeland, it's a Dakota site… our stories are the ones that should take precedent. And it's not to say that there can't be an acknowledgement of other people's suffering or other peoples' experience, but Dakota stories have to take primacy. It's such an insult to say that the African-American story has equal weight. And that's not to say that slavery is not also a crime against humanity, or that that shouldn't be discussed. But it's definitely not the primary story of that site.[101]

Additionally, while she accedes that "nuggets of good information" and knowledge may be spread by forthcoming exhibits, she insists that the absence of Dakota history and the non-recognition of the structural injustices perpetrated against the Dakota by the U.S. and Minnesota governments has the potential to null positive effects.

The work of Ann Laura Stoler may be useful in trying to understand why Historic Fort Snelling exists as it does today, in the re-enacted 1820s. Stoler has recently proposed a renaming of the condition "cultural amnesia." She hopes to replace it with the medically-inflexed term "aphasia." This colonial-specific aphasia relates to a sort of speechlessness existent among the authors of widely accepted writings of history: political actors, government officials, scholars. Stoler contends that these authors

[101] Waziyatawin, Personal interview, March 5, 2012.

experience at once a condition of knowing and not-knowing, an ability to misplace but not necessarily misunderstand colonial histories.[102] Here, then, lives a text—Fort Snelling—which contains a history that while fully *able* to be exposed, is neither fully heard nor represented. The site seems to inspire waves, both emerging and retreating, of knowing and not-knowing its own colonial underpinnings. The acknowledgement of colonial forces operating in-state may trouble MHS and many Minnesotans. In resistance, these people and organizations can retreat to the more secure and affirming grip of colonial aphasia.

Alternatively, it could be argued that this use of "aphasia" is simply denial in another form; by referring to this "not-knowing" as a medical condition, one that doesn't place blame on those who *should* demonstrate knowing, scholars only help continue the harmful cycle of refusal and non-recognition of colonial histories. An excerpt from the memoir of a Dakota man can help illustrate this aphasia or denial. Gabriel Renville, a Dakota elder who was concentrated at Fort Snelling, describes, "Amid all this sickness and these great tribulations, it seemed doubtful at night whether a person would be alive in the morning." This excerpt is used widely by MHS, and is featured on the Historic Fort Snelling website as well as on the fort's plaque referring to Dakota concentration. It is mostly employed to demonstrate the horrible conditions present at the concentration site.

However, also included in this oral history and never quoted in MHS's literature is Renville's next statement. He articulates, "We had no land, no homes… How can we get lands and have homes again [?]"[103] This question, the query whether the Dakota will be able to claim a homeland and when, is crucial to understanding the full extent of

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[102] Ann Laura Stoler, "'The Rot Remains:' On Imperial Debris and Colonia Aphasias" (Keynote lecture, Fault Lines Conference, University of Texas at Austin, October 7, 2010).
[103] Gary C. Anderson, ed., *Through Dakota Eyes*, 234.

Dakota suffering at the Fort Snelling concentration site. The Dakota suffered not only because of weather conditions, disease, poor provisions, and violent assaults, but also because they knew that their land—their livelihood and lifeblood—was lost to them, perhaps forever. The anguish wrapped up in being banished from their homeland, coupled with being forcibly concentrated at bdote, one of the most holy Dakota sites, is a large part of Dakota memory of Fort Snelling. This is omitted from MHS's plaques, promotional materials, and websites, as well as Historic Fort Snelling's interpretive program. Its exclusion demonstrates the manner in which institutional "truth-telling" continues to skirt over crucial components, namely Indigenous, of Fort Snelling's historical and collective memory.

Chapter III: Dakota Memories of Fort Snelling

Fort Snelling is, indeed, a place that encompasses many histories. However, the manner in which these histories are relayed is important, as it determines whether memories are silenced, overlooked, forgotten, or simply ignored. The larger stories told about a landscape, or the conceptions that persons hold of a landscape,[104] often color their interpretation of it and of its history. Dydia DeLyser maintains,

> Landscapes, like written texts, encode powerful social, cultural, and political messages that are interpreted by their viewers, whether we stop to question them or not. And it is not just the visible components of landscape that convey such messages. Often it is our ability to link what we see in the landscape to other images, other texts about our society, that allows us to interpret landscape imagery.[105]

Accordingly, Dakota activists and allies argue that the texts MHS and thus visitors to Historic Fort Snelling most often "link" to its landscape are those that champion U.S. expansion, military service, and early nineteenth-century white settlement. These texts are given precedent over Dakota oral traditions or memories of concentration, dispossession, and genocide at and around Fort Snelling. An illustrative example of this missing link at Historic Fort Snelling can be found in its own gift shop. Here, visitors can purchase Davy Crocket hats, storybooks laying out the legend of Paul Bunyan, hotdish cookbooks, and Dreamcatchers. Among other baubles, a single postcard offering displays a painting of Dakota concentration at Fort Snelling. This is the shop's only mention of the event, and one of the only evidences that this site is of crucial importance to Dakota history.

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[104] The very fact that the term "landscape" is employed at sites like Historic Fort Snelling speaks to an imperial, conquering vision of land and its worth. This word must often be situated in the context of U.S. colonization of the West and its Indigenous Nations. Angela Miller, *Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825-1875* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996).
[105] DeLyser, *Ramona Memories*, xv.

Nevertheless, regardless of MHS's interpretation at Historic Fort Snelling, Dakota memory at Fort Snelling and bdote is still very much alive. Carrie Schommer of the Upper Sioux Reservation in Minnesota says,

> I'd like to think that Fort Snelling is part of us, a part of the Dakota people more than what it is. I know that a lot of things were there, but we can share things in that area. We share things in that area because we know a lot of our people lost their lives or suffered there, and when you go there you feel all the things that have happened there… I get mixed feelings when I'm there, but I do know that the spirit of our people is all around there.[106]

According to Schommer, although the site is one of pain, it is animate with "the spirit of [her] people," much more so than the average visitor may perceive through MHS's portrayal of its history. When Schommer considers "all the things that have happened" at the site, she expresses an ambivalence about what Fort Snelling means to her, but never doubts that when she goes there she is in the presence of a community of Dakota spirits—of memories and souls.

Waziyatawin claims that since the bdote region is Dakota homeland, a sacred site that is now also joined to the history of U.S. conquest, a Dakota story should take precedent at Fort Snelling. Indeed, in *What Does Justice Look Like?* Waziyatawin claims that the bdote region, where Fort Snelling sits, as well as much of the rest of the publically-owned park lands in Minneapolis and Saint Paul, should be restored to the Dakota Nation.[107] While this study does not focus on the issue of repatriation of Fort Snelling and bdote land to the Dakota,[108] the very suggestion demonstrates a belief, at

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[106] Carrie Schommer, Interview with Deborah Locke, April 27, 2011, transcript, U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 Oral History Collection, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, MN.

[107] Waziyatawin, *Justice,* 109.

[108] I do not wish to short-shrift or belittle the idea of land repatriation by the U.S. and Minnesota governments to the Dakota people. This is an important issue, one I believe is worthwhile to explore and debate. However, in this study, I simply cannot give Dakota land repatriation the amount of time or analysis it deserves. Waziyatawin insists, "our suffering cannot be relieved unless contemporary injustices are addressed, until we are allowed to live as Dakota people once again. This, my relatives, is magic because it allows us to wake up from our colonial slumber. When we recognize the current state of

least among Waziyatawin and her allies, that some histories of a people on a land are more important than the histories of other people who have lived on the same land.

Many Dakota people describe the bdote where Fort Snelling sits as their place of physical and spiritual origin, although naturally the site's importance differs according to individual interpretation. Clifford Canku, a Dakota elder, assistant professor of Dakota language at North Dakota State University and enrollee at Lake Traverse Indian Reservation in South Dakota, emphasizes that land is crucial to Dakota identity. He states,

> To us Dakota, disparity [despair], is if you don't know who you are. In other words, we're like trees. If we don't know our roots, in terms of who we are, and how we are connected from the very beginning—to creation, and to God, and to the land, and to the space and time in which we live—that's more important than what we are.[109]

Canku intones that for Dakota people, being without a connection to homeland is directly related to being unable to understand one's own identity. This leads, as he intones, to hopelessness and despair. Only a re-association with the Dakota's "very beginning" can reveal the meaning of life and personhood. This emphasis on land and life purpose arises again and again through Dakota oral traditions and memory work.

Dave Larsen, a Dakota educator, explains that the bdote where Fort Snelling stands is "the most meaningful place in [the Dakota conception of] the world," but he also is sure to state: "that's not in the history books."[110] This absence from a wider historical narrative and specifically from Minnesota's education standards helped to spur the creation of the "Bdote Memory Map" website in the mid-2000s. The website uses an

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colonization, we can begin to work toward a decolonized future." Waziyatawin, *Justice*, 88. See also: Indian Land Tenure Foundation, accessed April 2, 2012, http://www.iltf.org; Jon Lurie, "Dakota Rising," *Twin Cities Metro Magazine*, August 1, 2009.

[109] Clifford Canku, Interview with Deborah Locke, June 10, 2011, transcript, U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 Oral History Collection, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, MN.

[110] Larsen, "Mnisota Makoce: A Dakota Place," http://www.bdotememorymap.org/Mnistoa.

actual map of the bdote region and identifies specific spots that are significant to the Dakota, supplementing these maps with videos as well as audio clips, pictures, and historical summaries in which Dakota persons speak or make clear the memory of this land.[111]

The website hopes to connect this sacred Dakota place to the memory of persons who have lived or visited here, creating "memory maps" for both Dakota and non-Indigenous people. It describes its mission as so:

> To express the historic and continued connection of Dakota people to places familiar to citizens and visitors of the area. Introduction of traditional and sometimes sacred places erased in public community memory is important to the task of recognizing this region as Dakota homeland. This re-cognition is important for the healing of the Dakota people, the non-native residents of the area and of Mnisota Mkoce [the land of Mnisota/Minnesota] herself.[112]

Fort Snelling is clearly represented on the Bdote Memory Map, and through video and audio many supplementary voices declare the gravity of the fort site for Dakota people. The maps further reveal how Dakota memory is still very much a part of this land, even though it is no longer in Dakota hands.

When asked about her feelings toward Fort Snelling, Pamela Halverson of the Lower Sioux Reservation describes, "To be Dakota in Minnesota, what they went through, it overwhelms me. It takes me to, you know, to why my people are the way they are today. It takes me to why we haven't healed."[113] Similarly, many Dakota activists, including Waziyatawin, claim that the widespread ailments of the Dakota community—things like poverty, alcoholism, depression, high suicide rates—stem from their removal

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[111] "Bdote Memory Map," http://www.bdotememorymap.org.
[112] "Mnisota Makoce: A Dakota Place," Minnesota Humanities Center, accessed February 28, 2012, http://bdotememorymap.org/mnisota.
[113] Pamela Halverson, Interview with Deborah Locke, February 23, 2011, transcript, U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 Oral History Collection, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, MN.

from their homeland, and more specifically from the bdote region.[114] Student and activist Autumn Cavender-Wilson speaks of the land where Fort Snelling sits as hallowed, but also intones, "the place of our creation is also the place of our destruction."[115]

As explained by many participants in MHS's recent oral histories, this lost connection to land is intimately tied to Dakota spirituality as well as to the Dakota sense of culture and community. What is most egregious to many about Historic Fort Snelling is that it ignores that the land on which the fort stands was conquered by the U.S. government and taken from the Dakota, but also that it was used as a place that further aided in the oppression of the Dakota. A large component of the call for land repatriation has to do with the haunting of colonialism and its still-felt effects on the diasporic Dakota nation.

However, Dakota arguments behind land repatriation also importantly revolve around the sacredness of this land to their people. By restoring these Mississippi River Valley lands and this bdote to the Dakota, they could "return" to their spiritual home of centuries ago and begin a new future. Canku expresses this as he speaks of the Dakota relationship to land. In reference to bdote and more largely to the land in Minnesota, he says,

> Dakota relationship to the land is that she's our mother. And every hill, every river, every valley has its historical past in terms of what happened there. For example, me coming back to Minnesota… Every valley, every road, every—I guess—location has a spiritual connection with it yet. And so, the way I look at it, is that this country is still ours spiritually… So, even though physically this country is not ours [anymore], it is still ours.[116]

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[114] Jon Lurie, "Dakota Rising," *Twin Cities Metro Magazine*, August 1, 2009.
[115] Autumn Cavender-Wilson, "Mnisota Makoce: A Dakota Place," http://www.bdotememorymap.org/Mnistoa.
[116] Canku, Interview with Deborah Locke, June 10, 2011, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, MN.

This claim to the land on which Fort Snelling sits, articulated as a spiritual entitlement, crystallizes for Canku as an assertion of one peoples' ownership of a place.

LAND MEMORY, SURVIVANCE, AND SPIRITS

Wesley Kort's work asserts that holy places are commonly perceived of as "separate from history and change," or empty of historical complication because of groups' unequivocal expressions of spiritual ownership. However, he combats the idea that sacred sites can be separate from larger histories, asserting that many—for instance Jerusalem, a place to which many Dakota have compared the bdote site at Fort Snelling[117]—are perhaps foremost "[places] of competing discourses" and should be viewed, and even celebrated, as so.[118] Essentially, Kort claims that the histories that develop because of conquest and colonialism become part of the land, regardless of the land's sacred or holy nature.

Kort maintains that holy places should express a certain sociality or historical backlog. He explains, "sacred space should not be deployed in opposition to history… [it] should not be detached from the complex repertoire of positive human place-relations."[119] That is not to say that Kort would agree with Michael Fox, the former Deputy Director of MHS, who claimed that a visitor to Historic Fort Snelling would, in 2010, find the experience "broader, richer and far more complex" than ever before.[120] In other words,

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[117] While many Dakota compared this bdote to Jerusalem, Clifford Canku compares it to the Garden of Eden. He says, "I think a more accurate parallel would be the Old Testament Garden of Eden. Where Adam and Eve had direct contact with God, and God placed them there. And so I think that when God placed us here, at the confluence of the rivers, it was kind of like the Garden of Eden." Canku, Interview with Deborah Locke, June 10, 2011, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, MN.

[118] Wesley A. Kort, *Place and Space in Modern Fiction* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2004), 214.

[119] Kort, *Place and Space*, 221.

[120] Michael Fox, "A Full History at Fort Snelling," *Star Tribune*, June 12, 2010, accessed March 6, 2012, http://www.startribune.com/opinion/96181514.html.

the sociality presently expressed at Historic Fort Snelling does not currently convey a "complex repertoire… of human place-relations," especially in relation to Dakota memory and the legacy of U.S. colonization. At the same time, however, the spiritual nature of a place does not annul its other painful, dense histories. Judy Anywaush, a Dakota of the Lower Sioux reservation, evokes the sense that this holy place where Fort Snelling sits has been an acute witness to Dakota and U.S. history, verbalizing, "They say if walls could only speak, or trees could only speak and say what they've seen…"[121]

M. Christine Boyer offers a timescape in which to view places like Fort Snelling: places that encompass multiple and, for some, conflicting narratives. She explains,

> Memory, as opposed to history, responds more than it records. It bursts upon the scene in an unexpected manner, demanding an alteration of established traditions. Operating only in fragments, memory is an art that connects disparate events; it is formed on the tactics of surprise, ruptures, and overturning.[122]

Boyer's idea of memory, explained as a very ordinary but also an almost other-worldly experience of sudden bursts and shocks, has the power to interrupt harmful ideologies. Put into practice at Historic Fort Snelling, this memory could counter a heretofore overwhelmingly pro-colonial, U.S. imperialist discourse. To mobilize Boyer's memory on the ground, Harvey's scholarship can help. He maintains that the key to pushing forth memory-driven interpretations of historical events is "keeping the sense of [an] event alive, saving it from… incorporation into standard history."[123] In other words, remembering needs to happen in perpetuity, just as a place may change in perpetuity.

A growing number of groups and organizations have recently begun enacting events or programs that insist on a memory-focused interpretation of Minnesota's past. In

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[121] Judy Anywaush, Interview with Deborah Locke, March 10, 2011, transcript, U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 Oral History Project, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, MN.
[122] M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 135.
[123] Harvey, *Cosmopolitanism*, 179.

2002, a group of Dakota activists and allies began an annual week-long walk across Minnesota that re-creates and commemorates the forced 1862 march of 1,600 Dakota people that ended in their concentration below Fort Snelling.[124] Additionally, recent projects undertaken by MHS, namely the approach of conveying a history of The U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 through oral histories—essentially, through personal memories—are a step toward this direction. Many of these programs and innovations help to establish the importance of memories over more standardized accounts of history. Nevertheless, in its current operation, Historic Fort Snelling's reenactment program is fundamentally opposed to portraying a non-standardized or interruptive translation of history.

The concept of survivance, first deployed by Anishanaabe writer and scholar Gerald Vizenor, can help offer an approach for better understanding Indigenous Nations' calls for justice at sites like Fort Snelling. Vizenor describes native survivance as,

> An active sense of presence over absence, deracination, and oblivion… Survivance stories are renunciations of dominance, detractions, obtrusions, the unbearable sentiments of tragedy, and the legacy of victimry.[125]

This "active" presence violates standardized histories like the one propagated by Historic Fort Snelling, which portrays Dakota voices as inessential to its history, or promulgates, whether knowingly or not, more common narratives of American Indians as a "vanishing race."[126] Vizenor also makes certain to assert that "survivance is a practice,"[127] not a

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[124] Waziyatawin Angela Wilson, ed., *In the Footsteps of Our Ancestors: The Dakota Commemorative Marches of the 21st Century* (St. Paul, MN: Living Justice Press, 2006); "Dakota Commemorative March 2008," accessed April 21, 2012, http://www.dakota-march.50megs.com/; "Dakota Commemorative March," accessed April 21, 2012, http://www.nativeresurgence.net/dakotamarch.html.

[125] Gerald Vizenor, ed., *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 1.

[126] For texts that propose or discuss and debunk the idea of the American Indian as a "vanishing race," see: Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996); Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967); Deloria*, Indians in Unexpected Places*, 2004.

[127] Vizenor, ed., *Survivance*, 11.

simple theory; it is an active perspective and posture that Indigenous persons must exercise in their daily lives. Survivance enforces the importance of an ongoing sense of native presence in the face of structures like imperialism, colonialism, forced assimilation, and racism. Demonstrated by the Dakota voices presented in this study, survivance persists in the face of the very structures that forced Dakota exile from Minnesota and the bdote region.

Diane Wilson begins her book *Spirit Car*, which elucidates her journey to better understanding her Dakota ancestry and culture, by quoting a poem by Pauline Brunette Danforth. In "For My Grandmothers," Danforth, an Ojibwe woman and student in Minnesota, portrays her grandmothers entreating her to "Listen to us… our voices are real," and to "Tell our stories, learn from our lives. Keep our words with you, don't let our ways die."[128] Danforth and Wilson's belief that "our [Dakota] words" and "stories" help to keep Dakota ways alive coincides with Vizenor's idea of survivance. These illuminate the impossibility of Indigenous memory's death.

Similar to the enduringness of Dakota words and stories, the trauma and grief caused by colonialism and the continuing legacy of conquest and oppression refuses to die. Phantasmal shocks of memory, like those Pamela Halverson described as "overwhelming"[129] face many Dakota, especially when they return to places like Fort Snelling or to the 1862 execution site in Mankato, Minnesota. Canku illuminates,

> Fort Snelling? When we go, below Fort Snelling… We see spirits there. Mostly women. Along the bluff. The last spirit we saw, was a woman, she had a shawl on. And half of her shawl was red and half of hers was yellow. So we feel a connection with the ancient spirits of the people who were incarcerated there. Like myself, I had a pipe ceremony, using my pipe. And all of a sudden, a chief

[128] Pauline Brunette Danforth, "For My Grandmothers," Quoted in Diane Wilson, *Spirit Car: Journey to a Dakota Past* (Wadena, MN: Borealis Books, 2006), N. pag. EPUB file.
[129] Halverson, Interview with Deborah Locke, February 23, 2011, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, MN.

> came and stood beside me, another shorter person. And this chief had all the buckskin on, and he was very astonishing-looking. And I felt it, some of my friends down here, relatives are here, spiritual relatives are here, and they're standing beside you. You just see, kind of like a light.[130]

This seeing of "spirits" or "light" offers a different representation of history than relayed at Historic Fort Snelling. Canku's reflection gestures toward a sense of memory that is visually real and rebuts organization. It could be better described as "the living activity of the dead," a phrase used by novelist Toni Morrison to refer to instances of memory that refuse diachronic gratification. Moments such as these do not rest easily, but instead stand, flashing alive before the person who is remembering his or her peoples' trauma.[131] While like Canku's explanation these memories can offer hope and a sense of belonging, they can also, like Halverson's, feel devastating. These memories do not have an end point.[132] Because of native survivance and Dakota spirituality these memories subsist. At the same time, because of continuing systems of domination that do not acknowledge historical trauma or that even perpetuate it, many memories of Fort Snelling endure as haunting.

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[130] Canku, Interview with Deborah Locke, June 10, 2011, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, MN.
[131] Toni Morrison, *Beloved* (New York: Penguin Books, 1987), 29.
[132] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 194-5.

Conclusion: *Transforming Historic Fort Snelling*

The Minnesota Historical Society (MHS) is able to tell a history of Fort Snelling largely absent of Dakota memory because it chooses to interpret the history of people who have lived, for the most part, without the terrors of oppression. It *chooses* to interpret the history of those who have benefited—whether knowingly complicit or not—from the structures and trappings of U.S. imperialism and colonialism. By and large, the people currently interpreted at Historic Fort Snelling did not feel the profound sadness of being deprived of a homeland, or of being unwillingly abstracted from their own sense of humanity. This is why memories surface without obstruction or terror for many visitors, and why Historic Fort Snelling can exist for many as a place of pleasure that inspires patriotism.

Even though patriotism and pleasure may also be a part of this fort's history, MHS can no longer neglect to acknowledge that Fort Snelling's existence was and is allowed for through structures like U.S. colonialism and its living activities. In order to move forward, Historic Fort Snelling must embrace all its histories. It must also state the obvious. As Diane Wilson describes of Fort Snelling, "the decades that have passed since… have not at all diminished the sense that the land itself, even the river, have been victims."[133] While all histories are important to tell at Historic Fort Snelling, some histories may need to be told more forcibly because they have been so silenced, so contained.

In March of 2012, MHS launched the website "The U.S.-Dakota War of 1862," in which it insists, "Over the past 150 years, MHS's interpretation has not adequately

[133] Diane Wilson, *Spirit Car,* N. pag. EPUB file.

reflected Dakota perspectives."[134] This admission, coupled with Historic Fort Snelling's new brand and logo which incorporates the image of bdote into Fort Snelling's famous round tower, demonstrates a necessary reflection of Dakota voice and presence in Minnesota and at the fort [See Figure 15 and 16]. Moreover, the new logo articulates the recognition of the fort's and the Dakota's interconnectedness. Nevertheless, it may be pertinent to question whether this virtual and market presentation of Historic Fort Snelling could actually cause harm, affording the appearance that this museum site is adequately expressing Dakota histories. Indeed, these admissions of fault as well as the deployment of a more nuanced, many-voiced historical interpretation of Fort Snelling exist in a mostly virtual world. Historic Fort Snelling's living history remains largely untouched.

While MHS has made changes to Historic Fort Snelling to broaden its historical scope—from welcome films to commemorative plaques, walking tours to rotating exhibits (mostly outside the fort's walls)—these changes do not translate to felt effects or innovative outcomes in the actual physical land Historic Fort Snelling occupies. Furthermore, new online sources about Historic Fort Snelling neglect to tell the history of Fort Snelling after it became a living history museum site; a timeline on the updated Historic Fort Snelling site ends with the year 1966,[135] leaving out the following fifty-plus years in which the site has promoted a very circumscribed interpretation of American colonial settlement in the West. While virtual and physical amendments may be welcome, they do not serve to remedy the existence and legacy of circumscribed onsite

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[134] Stephen Elliott, "A Letter from the Director," The U.S.-Dakota War of 1862, The Minnesota Historical Society, accessed March 30, 2012, http://www.usdakotawar.org/about.

[135] "Timeline," Historic Fort Snelling, The Minnesota Historical Society, April 2, 2012, http://www.historicfortsnelling.org/history/timeline.

interpretation. The programs at Historic Fort Snelling must match its new brand, otherwise the site is simply not delivering what it claims to sell.

Representation at Historic Fort Snelling can conceivably change, transformed to express more fully the memory of the land it sits upon. Soja explains a place's meaning as socially created and constantly shifting, contending, "space itself is primordially given, but the organization, the meaning of space is a product of social translation, transformation, and experience."[136] These transformations of place reveal that a social world is behind place-meaning, and that meanings can, even *should*, change: histories, much like myths, are written, not lived.

One of the larger transformations possible, if Fort Snelling continues to remain under the guardianship of MHS, is the makeover of the experience of daily life at the fort. David Harvey describes the power of Henri Lefebvre's "construction" of space, in that "it denies the particular privileging of any one realm over each other, while simultaneously insisting that it is only in the social practices of daily life that the ultimate significance of all forms of activity is registered."[137] In effect, Lefebvre, described by Harvey, alleges that the essential meaning of a place is defined by the social relationships and acts practiced daily at that place.

To consider this concept in relation to Historic Fort Snelling, the site's failings become quite clear: its daily life does not reflect the haunting or multiple memories of the site. As an alternative, one mental space—an imagined and benign 1820s—is purporting to represent a place's entire history.[138] In order to remedy this incongruity, the daily life of the fort must change. By claiming to embody history, Historic Fort Snelling interferes

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[136] Soja, *Postmodern Geographies,* 80.
[137] Harvey, *Cosmopolitanism*, 23.
[138] See: Richard Handler and Eric Gable. *The New History in the Old Museum*.

with the socially-produced, phantasmal memory of place as well as the various truths living in it. This historical haunting does, indeed, encompass more than only Dakota stories; it also includes U.S. Spanish-American War soldiers' stories, black slaves who lived at Fort Snelling's stories, women who served the fort's officers' stories, servicemen in World War Two's stories—the list continues.

Elden Lawrence, an enrolled member of the Lake Traverse Indian Reservation in South Dakota, and a descendant of Dakota women who were concentrated at Fort Snelling, expresses his wish for the Fort Snelling site to remain standing as a physical marker of memory. He explains,

> I see it in very much the same way that you would look at a cemetery. You put up a beautiful monument to remember your loved ones and when you go there you think about them. You think good things about them, or you remember them. There isn't anything real good to remember about that place at the internment camp, but it's still a memorial that needs to be maintained and kept there.[139]

A cemetery, as Lawrence alludes to, is essentially a site where people can go to visit their own living memory of the dead. This visitation can at times be celebratory. It can also be sad, even awful. But, overall, such visitation is about the *process* of remembering: not about absolute resolution or the wrapping of history into tidy, restrictive boxes. Fort Snelling is a literal and a figurative burial ground, one that hosts named and nameless, animated and unending dead.

While Historic Fort Snelling can continue to claim that each of its histories deserves to be told, its claims that each history possesses equal importance and weight does not take into account the existence of greater systems of oppression that caused many of these histories in the first place. A place cannot be one time, but, more so, it cannot be divorced from social, political, and power relations. If Historic Fort Snelling

[139] Elden Lawrence, Interview with Deborah Locke, April 12, 2011, transcript, U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 Oral History Project, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, MN.

claims a responsibility to express and represent the density of human life at its site, it needs to address the ideologies and structures that have been imposed on other human life at its site. This undertaking would require sufficient funding and effort. It depends on the public prioritization of an interpretation of Fort Snelling's position in U.S. imperial power structures, as well as the enormous harm those structures—and the persons associated with them, either explicitly or implicitly—inflicted and still inflict on Indigenous Nations and the Dakota people.

In *Lasso the Wind,* Timothy Egan offers a directive that can be applied to Historic Fort Snelling. He calls for the creation and acceptance, among many, of what he terms "a common story" of European, Euro-American, and U.S. colonization and settlement of the American West. Egan elaborates that this story should "not [be] a mythic one, not a plunderer's tidied-up view." Instead, it should read as "on the whole, more nonfictional."[140] This involves a direct refutation of standardized, mythic versions of history that champion the U.S.'s "manifest destiny." Ultimately, in order to embrace the construction Egan proposes, Historic Fort Snelling needs to reject the already-composed narratives of its own history. So far, no book or institution has been able to satisfyingly relay this place's density, entanglements, or implications.

As substitute, MHS must strive to create a new memory program, one that acknowledges a more expansive and critical view of Dakota, Minnesota, and U.S. history. This may not be orderly. The history of Fort Snelling and the memories of this land extend both before and after 1820, just as the histories and memories of U.S. imperialism extend beyond the nineteenth century. This would likely be an ongoing, constantly-transforming process that strives to incorporate "the living activity"[141] of

[140] Timothy Egan, *Lasso the Wind: Away to the New West* (New York: Knopf, 1998), 10.
[141] Morrison, *Beloved*, 29.

parties both alive and dead. Most importantly, this process must prioritize the acknowledgement of structures of dominance, specifically pointing to injustice perpetrated against the Dakota at Fort Snelling as well as the continuing effects of U.S. colonization on Indigenous peoples. In order to push toward a more "non-fictional" interpretation of the past, the Minnesota Historical Society needs to demonstrate the full extent of memory that exists at Fort Snelling, as well as this memory's continuing presence and consequence for Dakota, Minnesotan, and U.S. citizens alike.

Appendix

Figure 1:

Edward K. Thomas. *View of Fort Snelling*. 1850. Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Minneapolis, MN. http://www.artsmia.org/viewer/detail.php?v=12&id=687.

Figure 2:

Francis Davis Millet. *The Signing of the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux*. 1905. Minnesota Historical Society. Minnesota State Capitol. Governor's Reception Room. St. Paul, MN.

Figure 3:

"Treaties of 1851." Immigration to Minnesota 1849 to 1960. Minnesota Historical Society. Interactive Timeline. 2001. Accessed April 28, 2012. http://www.dipity.com/MnHSreference/Immigration-to-Minnesota-1849-to-1960.

Figure 4:

Benjamin Franklin Upton. “Captured Sioux Indians in Fenced Enclosure on Minnesota River Below Fort Snelling.” Photograph. 1862. Minnesota Historical Society. St. Paul, MN.

Figure 5:

Benjamin Franklin Upton. “Little Crow’s Wife and Children Fort Snelling Prison Compound.” Carte de visite. 1863. Minnesota Historical Society. St. Paul, MN.

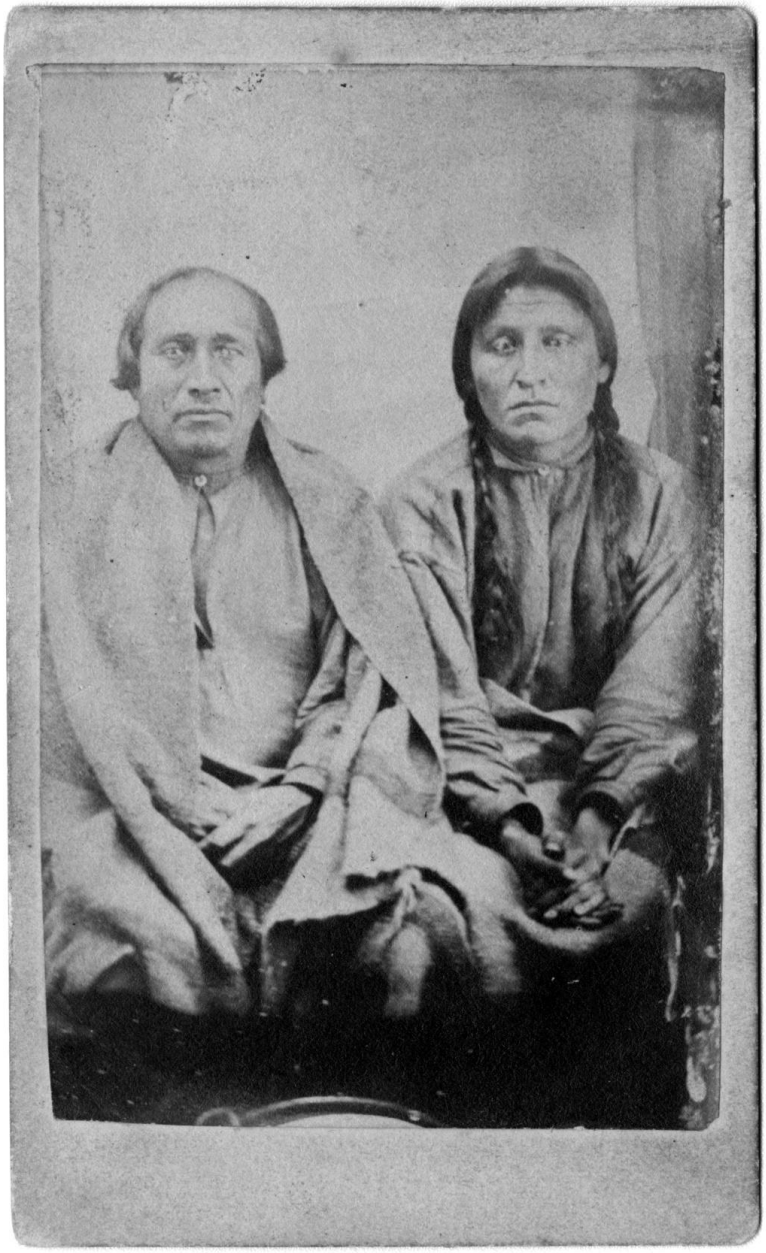

Figure 6:

Joel Emmons Whitney. “Little Six and Medicine Bottle at Fort Snelling.” Carte de visite. 1864. Minnesota Historical Society. St. Paul, MN.

Figure 7:

Kathryn Sutton. “Schoolchildren Walk Path.” Photograph. August 3, 2011.

Figure 8:

Kathryn Sutton. "Plaque Explaining 'Fort Snelling Internment Camp.'" Photograph. August 3, 2011.

Figure 9:

Kathryn Sutton. “Re-enactors at Gates.” Photograph. August 3, 2011.

Figure 10:

Kathryn Sutton. “Blacksmith Gives a Demonstration.” Photograph. August 3, 2011.

Figure 11:

Kathryn Sutton. “Re-enactors Perform on Parade Ground.” Photograph. August 3, 2011.

Figure 12:

Kathryn Sutton. “Re-enactor on Parade Ground.” Photograph. August 3, 2011.

Figure 13:

Kathryn Sutton. “Dred Scott’s Interpreted Slave Quarters.” Photograph. August 3, 2011.

Figure 14:

Kathryn Sutton. “From Outside Fort Walls.” Photograph. August 3, 2011.

Figure 15:

Kathryn Sutton. “Fort Snelling’s Most Famous Building.” Photograph. August 3, 2011.

Figure 16:

Historic Fort Snelling's New Brand Logo. Historic Fort Snelling. Minnesota Historical Society. Accessed April 20, 2012. http://www.historicfortsnelling.org.

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